going forward to save the world from totalitarianism and Naziism and tyranny, I am sure God must applaud a great deal.

But here we are at a point where peace reigns basically, and instead of moving on to build a new society, a society where the wealth of this great Nation can be shared, where the wealth can be used to take care of the needs of everybody, instead of moving in that direction, we have chosen to move in the opposite direction and to hunker down and begin to hoard the benefits and hoard the wealth, and begin to throw overboard a certain segment of society and say, ''We don't care what happens to them. We don't really care.''

As I said before, God must spend a lot of days looking at all this and be very upset that we are so petty and moving in such a negative direction so rapidly.

But all hope is not lost, because there are great things happening all over the world. The accumulation of all these great things may begin to have an impact on what is happening here in this country.

Even in this country, the Southern Baptist Church last week apologized for their position on slavery, the Southern Baptist Church, which was created as a result of a schism at the time of the Civil War. The big issue in the Southern Baptist Church was that they wanted to label African-Americans, Negroes, as being less than human and not worthy of God's blessings, that they were not to be considered in the Christian church as equals.

They apologized. The Southern Baptists apologized. They voted, large number of delegates, to apologize and to take note of the fact that the evils that were generated by slavery still exist and they must work to eradicate them. The Southern Baptists did that.

Some people say, well, their membership is declining. There is some ulterior motive. I do not care. They did it. For one glorious moment, they rose to the occasion and they admitted that they wanted to tell the truth, they wanted to be a part of the truth, they wanted to get away from the doctrine of obliteration. The doctrine of obliteration said that the African-American, the African transported here, was not a human being, and therefore they could be made beasts of burden, more efficient beasts of burden, by treating them like beasts. The Southern Baptists represent just one of those many areas where there is hope.

There is hope in the Supreme Court, too, when Ruth Bader Ginsburg writes the decision of the kind that she wrote. Justice Ginsburg took just the opposite approach of Justice Kennedy, who wrote the decision for the majority. Justice Kennedy based his ruling on the Shaw versus Reno case. I think the majority opinion for that was written by Justice O'Connor, with Justice Clarence Thomas, of course, supporting it in great measure.

Justice Ginsburg says that it is not common sense. It is not obvious to her, as the law is made and the intent of the constitutional amendment is examined, it is not at all clear to her that the 14th amendment is primarily concerned with being colorblind and not concerned with remedying past wrongs, which the full legal integration of the African-Americans, the former salves and their descendants into American life.

Let me must read a few excerpts from Justice Ginsburg's dissenting opinion. As you know, it was a 5–4 decision, and Justice Ginsburg was joined in her dissent by Justices Stevens, Bryant and Souter.

Legislative districting is highly political business. This Court has generally respected the competence of state legislatures to attend to the task. When race is the issue, however, we have recognized the need for judicial intervention to prevent dilution of minority voting strength.

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Generations of white discrimination against African-Americans as citizens and voters account for that surveillance.

In other words, what she is saying is that we have generally kept our hands off, the judiciary has kept its hands off the reapportionment process.

There was a series of cases that established clearly that it was better to leave it to the State legislature and the only regular, systematic intervention of the courts came with the Voting Rights Act for the purpose of dealing with the problem of giving African-Americans their full voting rights and avoiding the dilution of the voting strength of minorities.

I go back to Justice Ginsburg's dissent, and I quote:

Two years ago in Shaw versus Reno this Court took up a claim analytically distinct from a vote-dilution claim. Shaw authorized judicial intervention in extremely irregular apportionments.

In other words she is saying that we started something 2 years ago when we considered the North Carolina case, Shaw versus Reno. For the first time we moved away from the voter-dilution concern of the Court and we moved into a new era. We moved into an area where extremely irregular apportionments, the way the district looked, or the circumstances under which the district was created, became a concern of the Court. And she does not agree, of course, that that movement was justified.

To continue quoting Justice Ginsburg:

Today the Court expands the judicial role announcing that Federal courts are to undertake searching review of any district with contours predominantly motivated by race. Strict scrutiny will be triggered not only when traditional districting practices are abandoned, but also when those practices are subordinated to, given less weight, than race.

Applying this new ''race-as-predominant-factor'' standard, the Court invalidates Georgia's districting plan, even though Georgia's Eleventh District, the focus of today's dispute, bears the imprint of familiar districting practices. Because I do not endorse the Court's new standard and would not upset Georgia's plan, I dissent.

Continuing to quote Justice Ginsburg:

At the outset it may be useful to note points on which the court does not divide. First, we agree that federalism and the slim judicial competence to draw district lines weigh heavily against judicial intervention in apportionment decisions; as a rule, the task should remain within the domain of state legislatures.

Second, for most of our Nation's history, the franchise has not been enjoyed equally by black citizens and white voters.

I want to just repeat; I am quoting from Justice Ginsburg and I want to read that again:

For most of our Nation's history the franchise has not been enjoyed equally by black citizens and white voters.

To redress past wrongs and to avert any recurrence of exclusion of blacks from political processes, Federal courts now respond to Equal Protection Clause and Voting Rights Act complaints of state action that dilutes minority voting strength.

Third, to meet statutory requirements, state legislatures must sometimes consider race as a factor highly relevant to the drawing of district lines.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gallery is admonished that there should be silence in the Chamber so that the Representative may continue with this special order.

Mr. OWENS. Returning to quote Justice Ginsburg:

Finally State legislatures may recognize communities that have a particular racial or ethnic makeup, even in the absence of any compulsion do so, in order to account for interests common to or shared by persons grouped together. When members of a racial group live together in one community, a reapportionment plan that concentrates members of the group in one district and excludes them from others may reflect wholly legitimate purposes.

Therefore, the fact that the Georgia General Assembly took account of race in drawing district lines—a fact not in dispute—does not render the State's plan invalid. To offend the Equal Protection Clause, all agree the legislature had to do more than consider race. How much more, is the issue that divides the Court today.

Continuing to quote Justice Ginsburg, her dissent:

We say once again what has been said on many occasions: Reapportionment is primarily the duty and responsibility of the State through its legislature or other body, rather than of a Federal court.

Districting inevitably has sharp political impact, and political decisions must be made by those charged with the task. District lines are drawn to accommodate a myriad of factors, geographic economic, historical and political, and State legislatures, as arenas of compromise, electoral accountability, are best positioned to mediate competing claims; courts, with a mandate merely to adjudicate, are ill-equipped for this task.

Federal courts have ventured now into the political thicket of reapportionment when necessary to secure to members of racial minorities equal voting rights, rights denied in many States, including Georgia, until not long ago.

The 15th amendment, which was ratified in 1870, declared that the right to vote shall not be denied by any State on account of race. That declaration, for many generations, was often honored in the breach; it was greeted by a near century of unremitting and ingenious defiance in several States, including Georgia.

I am quoting from the dissenting opinion of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, and I want to repeat this sentence.

The 15th amendment, ratified in 1870, declared that the right to vote shall not be denied by any State on account of race. That declaration, for many generations, was often honored in the breach; it was greeted by a near century of unremitting and ingenious defiance by several States, including Georgia.

After a brief interlude of black suffrage enforced by Federal troops but accompanied by rampant victims against blacks, Georgia held a constitutional convention in 1877. Its purpose, according to the convention's leader, was, to fix it so that the people shall rule and the Negro shall never be heard from.

In pursuit of this objective, Georgia enacted a cumulative poll tax, requiring voters to show they had paid past as well as current poll taxes; one historian described this tax as the most effective bar to Negro suffrage ever devised.

In 1890, the Georgia General Assembly authorized white primaries; keeping blacks out of the Democratic primary effectively excluded them from Georgia's political life, for victory in the Democratic primary in those days was tantamount to election.

Early in this century Georgia Governor Hoke Smith persuaded the legislature to pass the Disenfranchisement Act of 1908. True to its title, this measure added various property, good character, and literacy requirements that, as administrated, served to keep blacks from voting. The result, as one commentator observed 25 years later, was an almost absolute exclusion of the Negro voice in State and Federal elections.

Disenfranchised blacks had no electoral influence, hence no muscle to lobby the legislature for change, and that is when the Court intervened. It invalidated white primaries and other burdens on minority voting.

It was against this backdrop that the Court, construing the Equal Protection Clause, undertook to ensure that apportionment plans do not dilute minority voting strength. By enacting the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Congress heightened Federal judicial involvement in apportionment, and also fashioned a role for the Attorney General. Section 2 creates a Federal right of action to challenge vote dilution. Section 5 requires States with a history of discrimination to preclear any changes in voting practices with either a Federal court or the Attorney General.

And on and on it goes to show that the Voting Rights Act was in response to a definite, long-range oppression of the rights of African-Americans at the ballot box. Justice Ginsburg makes it quite clear that the Equal Protection Clause does not rule out extraordinary measures being taken by the Federal Government to deal with past wrongs and to compensate for what happened in 232 years of slavery and the period of disenfranchisement that followed. She argues with the basic principle that is established by Justice O'Connor in Shaw versus Reno. She does not accept that premise.

But then Justice Ginsburg moves on to another area. She says that even if you accept the reasoning of Shaw versus Reno, even if you accept Justice O'Connor's contention that race cannot be the predominant consideration in drawing districts, political districts, even if you accept that and apply it, the 11th District in Georgia meets the standards. The 11th District in Georgia is no more a district drawn with predominant race considerations than any other district in Georgia. It considers other factors also. It does not cross but a few county lines, and some districts cross a number of county lines. The 11th District of Congresswoman CYNTHIA MCKINNEY of Georgia is more regular than 28 districts in the country that are cited as being the 28 most oddly-drawn districts in the country.

So Justice Ginsburg applied the standard of Shaw versus Reno and still concludes that even if you applied that standard, the 11th Congressional District should not have been invalidated.

I urge all Americans who really want to take a close look at what the Supreme Court did to not just read the majority opinion; read the dissenting opinion. It was a 5-to-4 decision and that 5-to-4 decision means that some day the reasoning of Justice Ginsburg may be the basis for overturning that decision.

I also said before this was a serious matter. I want to address myself particularly to the African-American community. This is a serious matter. We have a situation where on that same Court, rendering several of the decisions that have affected school integration, affirmative action and now voting rights, is a justice who happens to be African-American.

Justice Clarence Thomas is on that Supreme Court. Justice Clarence Thomas is an African-American, and there are some who believe that the Court is emboldened even more in its pursuit of the dismantling of voting rights and affirmative action, and set-asides as a result of Justice Thomas being there as an African-American.

There are some who say that Justice Clarence Thomas is the most powerful African-American in the country, and there are some who say, being the most powerful African-American in the country, he is the most dangerous African-American in the country. There are some who say that his presence and his continued support for the opinions which are destroying affirmative action, set-asides, and voting rights constitute a special kind of problem.

There are some who say that at least Justice Thomas is honest and he is clearly on the side of the conservatives, and, therefore, we have to respect his opinions. The greater danger they say may not be Clarence Thomas, but those who do not openly say they are conservative, who are masquerading as leaders in the African-American community, and they share the same opinions as Justice Clarence Thomas.

Justice Clarence Thomas's case was well-known to most of us. The vote on Justice Thomas in the Senate got a great deal of publicity, and there were a number of us in Congress, including all of the members of the Congressional Black Caucus, who opposed the appointment of Justice Clarence Thomas at the very beginning, long before there was any discussions of his private life, which we think was wholly out of order. Long before that had happened, a position had been taken by the members of the Congressional Black Caucus against the appointment of Justice Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court.

As a member of the Education and Labor Committee, Justice Thomas in his previous employment as the head of EEOC had been before our committee numerous times, and Justice Thomas had clearly sabotaged the law he was hired to implement.

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Justice Thomas defied the intent of Congress. He ignored the intent of Congress. He ignored the directions of the committee. So we had a clear position, and I adamantly opposed the appointment of Justice Clarence Thomas long before any question was raised about his personal life. I make that distinction because so much confusion resulted from the fact that an unprecedented situation developed where the personal life of an official seeking public office was aired in public.

I totally agreed with Justice Thomas on one point. It was a high-technology lynching. It should never have been considered in public. It should have been an inquiry held behind closed doors. It should have proceeded as all personnel matters proceed. It was a circus which was most unfortunate.

Of course, there were many people who opposed him because of his record, opposed him because of his ideology, who were swayed by the problem that he faced, and later changed their opinion. But steadfastly we insisted that a record like the record of Justice Thomas in Government made it clear that he would be an enemy of the forces of civil rights, the forces of civil liberties, and of the African-American people.

I mention this because in these critical days when there is an attempt to dismantle all of the gains that have been made by the African-Americans over the last 50 years; in these critical days when the second reconstruction is being trampled, the one reconstruction was trampled, and all of the Members of Congress who were black were removed from Congress, we are not facing a situation quite that bad, but in many ways the economic impact of the decisions that are being made will be even harsher on the African-American population in general.

So here we are in a critical situation. There is a state of emergency. Our leadership and people we select as leaders is critical, and what I am moving on to and what I am leading up to is

the fact that there were many in the leadership who knew very clearly what the positions of Justice Thomas were, yet they supported him because he was an African-American.

The danger in the African-American community now, the danger with respect to the leadership at this critical time is that we are going to again be taken in by the fact that the old standard of the black bourgeoise is allowed to predominate. Anybody who is educated, any, African American who achieves becomes a person we look up to, becomes a person we will not criticize. The standards within the African-American community for leadership, the standards get diluted.

You do not have to clearly stand for policies, public policies, which are in the interests of the masses of African-American people. People who back away from those standards can still serve as leaders. They can enjoy the status of leaders. They can pronounce themselves as leaders and get away with it.

It is important that at this critical moment we understand that many people who made the error of supporting Justice Thomas because he was an African American are the kind of people we must avoid in the future, the kind of people who have to come to grips with what are the basic policy provisions that should be set forth in the African-American community at a critical time like now.

Can we have people voting for B–2 bombers which may cost $31 billion over a 7-year period and at the same time they are cutting Medicaid, at the same time they are cutting school lunches and at the same time draconian measures in the area of housing? The rescissions bill that was passed today cuts low-income housing by $7 billion. Can we have leaders who fail to understand that those are the public policies that impact on the greatest number of African-American people? And they have a duty to fight to see to it that those policies which are detrimental to our people do not go forward.

Can we understand that there must be an evaluation of leadership so that we do not have an elected bourgeoisie carrying out their own private personal agenda while they ignore the public agenda of the African-American community?

This decision by the Supreme Court and all the other things that have happened in the last few months are a warning. If we do not understand that there is a state of emergency now, we will never understand that. The Clarence Thomases have clearly proclaimed where they stand. There are some Members of the Congress, some black Members, who clearly proclaim they do not want to be part of the Black Caucus. They do not want to represent black interests.

I admire people who clearly say where they stand. On the other hand, the Benedict Arnolds we must worry about.

I want to close with a statement that I sent out to all of the African-American leadership. It is kind of a convoluted, indirect statement because during the time when Justice Clarence Thomas was under consideration for the appointment, even after the congressional Black Caucus was taking a position opposed to his appointment even after the NAACP had taken a position, even after the leading civil rights organizations had taken a position, there were leaders who came forward and said because he is black, we should not oppose him.

One of those leaders wrote an article in the New York Times, and it particularly struck me at that time as being devastating to our position One of those leaders in the cultural field wrote a very piercing op-ed piece for the New York Times where she said, ''I know that he is guilty of not running the EEOC in accordance with the law. I know he has trampled on our interests on many occasions. I know this, I know that. All of this is true, but, still, he should be given a chance.'' And I have that ringing in my ears every time a Supreme Court decision comes down, ''Still, he should be given a chance. He will change.''

That was Maya Angelous, a poet I respect a great deal, a poet that has become more famous since her famous poem was recited at the presidential inauguration. I think Maya Angelous and the other leaders who supported Clarence Thomas now need to go talk to Clarence Thomas. They need to also let the rest of the African-American community understand the implications of what is happening.

So I have written a little statement here, Maya Angelous, I am addressing it to:

GO TALK TO CLARENCE THOMAS

Maya talk to Clarence please
He's knocking us down to our knees
Clarence is talking real loud
Running with the wrong crowd
Dangerous opinions he always writes
Hurling our people toward long poison nights
Maya talk to Clarence please
In the name of Black ancestors who drowned in the seas
Talk to Clarence
End his heathen roam
Haul him to his heritage home
Maya you recognized his record of public sin
You promised that Clarence would be born again
The miracle of Hugo Black and Earl Warren would be repeated
Maya you promised ideological addiction would be defeated
Maya time to make your move a sacred point you still have to prove
Maya talk to Clarence please!

I would say that to all the other leaders who supported Justice Clarence Thomas. I would say that to all the other leaders who support compromise and are ready to forget about the interests of the thousands of African Americans out there who are suffering because public policies are being perpetuated, public policies are being perpetuated which will hurt them directly.

The rescission bill, with all of its cuts of low-income housing, would hurt African Americans directly. The B–2 bomber, being taken as a priority over Medicaid, over free lunches, will hurt African-Americans directly.

It is time we all understood that there is a state of emergency in the African-American community. The African-American leaders will have to rise to the occasion and lead in the interests of all African-Americans.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska (at the request of Mr. ARMEY), for today, on account of personal reasons.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ENGEL) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. DEFAZIO, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FILNER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. WISE, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. KAPTUR, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GUTKNECHT) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. GUTKNECHT, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FOLEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SCARBOROUGH, for 5 minutes, today.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. THOMAS, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 483. An act to amend the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 to permit medicare select policies to be offered in all States.

SENATE ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 962. An act to extend authorities under the Middle East Peace Facilitation Act of 1994 until August 15, 1995.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. OWENS. Madam Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to.